

Annual Report 2007



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Publication Information ■■■ Published by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, e.V. (registered association) ■■■ Edited by: Susanne Dittrich, Bernd Rheinberg ■■■ Texts: Staff of the Heinrich Böll Foundation ■■■ Translated by: Barbara Agie Reeves and Kurt Klotzle ■■■ Cover illustration: Via Lewandowsky's installation, entitled Treppenläufer ("Stair Runner"), will grace the 11-meter-wide staircase to the bel étage of the Foundation's new headquarters in Berlin-Mitte. ■■■ Photos: Heinrich Böll Foundation Archive and Ludwig Rauch (p. 1 top), Bettina Keller (p.1. bottom), Philip Meinecke/Greenpeace (p. 2 top), Palang Thai (p. 4 bottom), AP Photo/Andre Penner (p. 5 top), "Ecodefense!" (p. 5 bottom), Lars Borges (p. 6), Polaris/laif (p. 7 top), Joachim Loch (p. 8), BZFO (p. 10 bottom), Barbara Assheuer (p. 12 top), DRA/Knut Hildebrand (p. 14), Karin Jobst (p. 16 top), Stefan Worring/Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger (p. 19 top), Berlinale Talent Campus (p. 20 top), Otto Böhr (p. 21), Andreas Böhming (p. 22 top), Gabriele Fromm (p. 22 center) ■■■ Design: blotto, Berlin ■■■ Paper: 100% eco-friendly paper, non-chlorine bleach ■■■ Number of copies: 1,500 ■■■ Current as of: August, 2008 ■■■ This report is available free of charge from the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Schumannstr. 8, 10117 Berlin, Germany, **T** +49-30-285 34-0 **F** +49-30-285 34-109 **E** info@boell.de **W** www.boell.de

Foreword

In June 2008, the Heinrich Böll Foundation moved into its new home on Schumannstrasse 8 in Berlin's Mitte district. The new building, based on designs by the Swiss architectural firm e2A, offers the Foundation's approximately 180 employees a bright new working environment. The crowning jewel of the new Foundation building is the "bel étage": a modern conference and meeting center on the first floor, which opens up new dimensions for our civic education activities.

A look back: In the year 1990, the Heinrich Böll Foundation commissioned Reinhard Loske, now environmental senator in Bremen, with a study that appeared as one of the Foundation's first publications, entitled "Ways toward Climate Stabilization – Atmospheric Protection as a Challenge for Industry, Government and Society." Among other things, the study called for global justice through emissions reductions in the industrialized countries and assistance to Third World countries in attempting to "synchronize development and ecology." Eighteen years ago, many viewed climate change as an issue being blown out of proportion by a few scientists and Green ideologues. Today, it is recognized as a fact.

Climate change could prove to have a particularly damaging impact upon emerging and developing countries where it primarily affects poor people. This means that those who bear the least responsibility for climate change will likely be most severely affected by it. Thus the international climate-related activities that the Heinrich Böll Foundation supports and conducts have been grouped under the motto "Climate of Justice." One example of our activities in this area is the campaign "Africa Speaks up on Climate Change." Prominent environmental activists, under the patronage of Nobel Peace Laureate Wangari Maathai, are calling upon leaders in industrialized and emerging countries to take decisive steps to protect the climate. Our study, "The Right to Development in a Climate Constrained World," which was presented at the international Climate Change Conference in Bali, also attracted strong international interest from governments in the North and South, the European Commission, the World Bank, and many climate activists.

As an ambitious and contradictory country, China became another focus of the Foundation's international activities. The discussion circle "China and India in the Global Economy" addresses the international economic dimensions of these aspiring world powers. In addition, the 8th Annual Foreign Policy Conference in September dealt with the West's policies toward China. And for over 10 years we have been providing support to various projects to strengthen the cultural identity and self-determination of the Tibetans; the Tibetan Center of Human Rights and Democracy in Dharamsala, India, is among their renowned international partners.

The Foundation can claim with full justification that the issue of gender policy is one of its trademarks. With the establishment of the Gunda Werner Institute for Feminism and Gender Democracy in 2007, we are working hard to enhance our impact on this important field even further. Through its events and publications, and through its one-of-a-kind virtual “knowledge portal” on gender policy, the Institute has become a high-profile actor in Germany and beyond.

Last year, we had a total of three birthdays to celebrate. First, Heinrich Böll would have turned 90 in December. This gave us the opportunity to commemorate the person, works and influence of Heinrich Böll through various events and internet presentations.

Second, we celebrated the occasion of Petra Kelly's 60th birthday in November. A large-format illustrated volume is dedicated to her life and work. The best-known Green politician from the party's early days in the 1980s was honored at a conference.

And third, the Heinrich Böll Foundation itself turned 20 last year. A great deal has happened since its establishment in November 1987 in Cologne, and the history of Green-affiliated foundations is still on the move: we are actively involved in helping to build up a European Green foundation, which has meanwhile been established in Brussels. Its work will contribute to the emergence of a European public sphere and will thereby complement the Heinrich Böll Foundation's broad spectrum of activities directed toward European policy. This Annual Report highlights some of the key aspects and details of our work in the past year. Of course, current information is always available on our website (www.boell.de).



Ralf Fücks



Barbara Unmüßig

Berlin, April 2008

Ralf Fücks Barbara Unmüßig
Executive Board of the Heinrich Böll Foundation

Globalization and Sustainability

The glaciers are melting and the Siberian tundra is thawing. Extreme weather events – including storms, droughts and floods – are on the increase, and are causing new waves of refugees. Climate change has stormed its way onto the political agenda. And scientists are making more alarming predictions than ever. It is high time to act if we want to keep climate change within tolerable limits. The Heinrich Böll Foundation has thus made climate and energy policy one of the main priorities of its work.



Following the congress, numerous participants went to the Federal Chancellery and presented the declaration for a "climate of justice," which was printed on a large screen.

Berlin: McPlanet.com – Climate of Justice

Congress

McPlanet.com is a bi-annual international congress that places the spotlight on pressing issues of ecology and globalization. The third McPlanet.com was held from 4-6 May 2007. During the run-up to the G8 summit, more than 2,000 participants – including environmental and anti-globalization activists, policymakers, scholars, and representatives from religious institutions – gathered to discuss opportunities and strategies for taking action to achieve a "climate of justice". The Heinrich Böll Foundation was one of the organizers of this large-scale congress, which featured over 100 events in total.

A joint declaration prepared by the conference organizers and signed by a large number of participants stated: "We are tired of the way in which the Federal Government draws attention to itself with fancy formulations in Germany, in the EU and in G8 negotiations, while its actual policies are counterproductive to climate protection." The declaration asserted that the energy policies of G8 countries have also been a key factor in preventing effective climate protection, while it is primarily the world's poor who suffer the consequences.

Those attending the congress shared the conviction that it is possible to achieve a socially just and ecologically sustainable society. But a clear political framework is necessary to accomplish this goal. Participants agreed that policymakers must finally make climate protection into a guiding principle instead of continuing to give preference to economic interests. Strong pressure from all segments of society is necessary for this to happen. The signatories to the declaration emphasized: "We will take on our responsibility for our climate: not only as consumers, but also as voters and politically active citizens."

Worldwide: Africa Speaks Up on Climate Change

Call to action

No continent will experience the effects of climate change as powerfully as Africa. While the rich countries see their prosperity endangered by climate change, it is literally a matter of life and death in Africa. And this is true despite the fact that the African continent makes only a slight contribution to climate change.

"Africa Speaks Up on Climate Change" is a call to action from Africans to political leaders and decision-makers worldwide. The goal of this appeal is to heighten awareness of the threat that Africa is facing and to call attention to the fact that policymakers must take action immediately. The appeal puts forward two demands: first, climate change must be stopped, and the emission of greenhouse gases must be reduced immediately. Second, world leaders must support the measures necessary to adapt to the effects of climate change with which Africa's poor and vulnerable are already forced to live.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation supports this campaign. It initiated the documentary film "Hotspots," which shows the effects of global climate change already visible in Africa and how people are confronting these new challenges. The Foundation is also helping to disseminate the appeal across the globe, thus lending further urgency to Africa's demand for justice in the face of the global climate crisis.



Kenyan ecologist and Nobel Peace Laureate Wangari Maathai is an author and sponsor of the appeal "Hot Spot – Africa Speaks Up on Climate Change."

www.africanclimateappeal.org

Dossier: "Resource Governance in the 21th Century" at www.boell.de

"To Have and Have Not"

Memorandum

In the 21st century, the raw materials sector is facing numerous challenges that are closely connected to one another. These include climate change, increased demand for raw materials, "peak oil", the social and environmental consequences arising from the exploitation of raw materials, corruption, human rights violations, and violent conflicts.

The world's approach toward the use of raw materials – in other words, resource governance – is also one of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's thematic priorities, because greater transparency and justice in dealing with the Earth's natural resources are crucial for achieving peace worldwide, promoting sustainable development and combating poverty.

During Germany's G8 Presidency in 2007, the Heinrich Böll Foundation launched a dialogue between civil society actors from (a) countries that are traditionally large importers of raw materials, (b) African countries rich in natural resources, and (c) emerging economies such as China, India, Brazil, Russia and Mexico, in which participants agreed on a joint reform proposal for sustainable resource management. The most important result of this dialogue is the memorandum "To Have and Have Not." The memorandum was written by an international group of experts and analyzes existing initiatives, standards and mechanisms of global resource governance. It also formulates political demands and recommendations urging the G8 states to engage in the responsible use of natural resources. The memorandum received political support, for example, from Liberian President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and Open Society Institute founder George Soros.

Beirut: "Green Wars?"

Conference

The struggle over resources, especially water, is widely expected to become one of the major sources of interstate conflict in the future. However, given the transnational character of many natural resources, neighboring states whose relations are normally characterized by tension or hostility may be motivated to engage in at least a minimum level of cooperation. In November 2007, the Heinrich Böll Foundation held a two-day conference focusing on the environmental problems of the Middle East, a world region with a high potential for conflict. Just a few examples of issues rife with conflict potential include negotiations over water rights between Jordan, Palestine and Israel; disputes over the use of water from the Nile River, and land use conflicts in Darfur. Interstate cooperation on these and other issues is essential and must be strengthened in the future in order to ensure at least a minimum level of peaceful coexistence in the face of increasing environmental burdens. The conference concluded with a discussion that focused on climate change on the Middle East – an issue that has meanwhile captured the attention of the Arab public. In a nutshell, participants agreed that while climate change is exacerbating current environmental problems, it also presents an opportunity to make advances in political cooperation.



(l–r) Hans Günter Brauch, Jörg Haas, Mohamed El Raey and Fouad Hamidan at the Beirut Conference "Green Wars".

www.boell-meo.org – website of Heinrich Böll Foundation's Middle East Regional Office

Bali: Presentation of the Study "The Right to Development in a Climate Constrained World"

From 3-15 December 2007, the United Nations Climate Change Conference – a further round of UN climate negotiations – was held in Bali, Indonesia. The Heinrich Böll Foundation was also represented in Bali where, among other activities, it unveiled "The Right to Development in a Climate Constrained World," a study published jointly by the British development organization Christian Aid, the Heinrich Böll Foundation, and other organizations. The report presents a burden-sharing framework for achieving climate protection. This framework is based on the criteria of responsibility for climate change and capacity, which are already mentioned in the Framework Convention on Climate Change as criteria of fairness. The report's Responsibility and Capacity Indicator includes such factors as "intranational inequality," which takes into account the fact that, even in relatively poor countries, a small segment of the population may be extremely wealthy and can be called on to participate in the financing of climate protection endeavors.

The report was enthusiastically received in Bali. It will serve as an important basis for the Foundation's future climate-related activities and will soon be published in Spanish and Chinese.

The Right to Development in a Climate Constrained World. The Greenhouse Development Rights Framework

A report by Paul Baer, Tom Athanasiou and Sivan Kartha, Berlin 2007, 96 pages
ISBN 978-3-927760-71-4

Additional information at
www.boell.de/GDRs

www.klima-der-gerechtigkeit.de

This blog casts a critical eye on current developments in national and international climate policy.

Santa Barbara: Californian-European Dialogue on Climate Change

Even though the federal government of the United States has been stubbornly refusing to participate in international climate protection agreements, U.S. states such as California have been pioneers for some time in experimenting with ambitious climate and energy policies. In order to promote transatlantic cooperation in this area, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Washington, D.C. office organized a high-level conference from 13-15 November 2007 in Santa Barbara, California. Experts from both sides of the Atlantic discussed how California, the United States and Europe can engage in closer cooperation to combat climate change. In their joint declaration, "The Santa Barbara Consensus on

www.boell.org – website of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Washington, D.C. office

Climate Change," participants agreed to forge new networks to strengthen cooperative technology research, to set up purchasing consortia to lower the prices of energy-saving products, and to speed up the development of green technologies and products. The conference was organized in cooperation with Johns Hopkins University.

Networking – Two Examples



Green Forum 2007. A three-day conference focused on the already perceptible effects of climate change in Ethiopia.

www.greenforumethiopia.org

Ethiopia: Green Forum 2007. The Green Forum is an open network for organizations that strive to create a critical awareness of environmental issues in Ethiopia. It was founded in 2006 by four Ethiopian non-governmental organizations and the Heinrich Böll Foundation's office in Addis Ababa. The network performs public outreach and disseminates information through events, publications, and a website. Political decision-makers – for example, the parliamentary committee on natural resources – increasingly turn to the Forum when legislative initiatives are being debated.

In 2007, the Green Forum focused on the environmental, economic and social impacts of climate change in Ethiopia. At a three-day conference from 31 October to 2 November, which was opened by Ethiopian President Girma Wolde Giorgis, government experts and civil society representatives engaged in first-ever exchange of views on the already perceptible effects of climate change in Ethiopia. At the conference, a declaration on climate change was adopted that called for climate change to be integrated as a cross-cutting policy priority in development plans and economic policy concepts. It also urged broader public outreach and participation regarding the threats posed by climate change, as well as the strict application of existing environmental protection laws to prevent the further deterioration of environmental conditions.

Tel Aviv: Town Meeting with Boris Palmer. In 2007, Life and Environment, an umbrella organization of approximately 100 environmental initiatives, organized several "town meetings" with the support of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. These meetings focused on the municipal elections that are scheduled to take place in November 2008. Environmental groups used these events to enhance public and policymaker awareness of environmental and sustainability issues. These groups work intentionally at the community level, because at the national level environmental issues are all too often eclipsed by security issues. On 24 July, Boris Palmer, mayor of the German city of Tübingen and member of the Greens, discussed the reasons for his electoral success at a town meeting in Tel Aviv. He explained how existing technologies had been used in Tübingen to reduce carbon dioxide emissions. Prior to the town meeting, Palmer had met privately with representatives of numerous environmental organizations and emphasized the importance of establishing linkages between people's everyday lives and environmental issues. His message: it is definitely possible to use existing technologies to bring about real change that is sensible both economically and ecologically – but you have to raise public awareness first.

www.boell.org.il – website of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Israel Office



Inspection of the water channel that exits the 1.5 kW pelton micro-hydropower unit at Baan Naa Tam. www.palangthai.org

www.thaiclimate.org supported by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, is Thailand's climate blog.

Projects to Promote Renewable Energies – Two Examples

Lebanon: Model village in southern Lebanon. The Lebanese environmental organization Greenline has dedicated itself to strengthening public awareness on the issue of renewable energy. It engages in political advocacy, issues publications and launches projects. In 2007, Greenline teamed up with the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Beirut office and worked with local authorities to install solar-powered water heaters in a village in southern Lebanon. The village had been severely damaged during the war in summer 2006. This "model village" provided a visible demonstration to surrounding communities regarding the long-term environmental benefits and electricity savings that renewable energies can offer. Furthermore, it encouraged the state and international donors to incorporate environmentally compatible practices and technologies into the reconstruction process. Currently, Greenline is advocating legislative changes to facilitate the introduction of renewable energies.

Thailand: Giving a Boost to Green Electricity. In 2007, after several years of preparatory work, the Foundation's partner organization Palang Thai succeeded in achieving the introduction of legal regulations that allow small power producers to feed power from renewable sources into the electricity grid. As a next step, Palang Thai is providing advisory services and networking assistance to community-run energy projects in southern Thailand and the area bordering Burma, with the aim of enabling them to sell their excess power. Palang Thai is well-known among independent energy experts and is frequently consulted by the Thai Energy Ministry in advance of important policy decisions. A new challenge for Palang Thai – and for the Heinrich Böll Foundation's work as well – is the government's medium-term plan to integrate nuclear power into Thailand's energy mix.

Worldwide: Slow Trade – Sound Farming. Trade Rules for Globally Sustainable Agriculture

Agriculture is much more than just a sector of the economy. It creates jobs, and it uses, maintains and preserves ecosystems. It forms a key component of the economy and culture in rural areas. And it represents the accumulation of a broad spectrum of knowledge concerning agricultural practices. However, the formulation of international trade policy pays very little attention to agriculture's multiple functions and focuses primarily on its economic value. The liberalization of agricultural trade policy subjects agriculture to increasing international competition and thus endangers its multifunctional character.

Against this background, the Heinrich Böll Foundation and Misereor, in cooperation with the Wuppertal Institute for Climate, Environment and Energy, have initiated the project "EcoFair Trade Dialogue: New Directions for Agricultural Trade Rules." The project's goal is to develop recommendations for a trade regime that takes social and environmental concerns into account as part of the overriding objective of achieving sustainable development. Wolfgang Sachs and Tilman Santarius of the Wuppertal Institute have consolidated the project's initial findings into a coherent reform proposal entitled "Slow Trade – Sound Farming." This report was published in April 2007 and is now also available in German, French, Spanish and Italian. The reform proposal has been presented at conferences in Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, Mexico, El Salvador, Kenya, Ethiopia, the United States, Switzerland and Germany; at these events, its recommendations are discussed from the relevant local or regional perspective.

Brazil and Cono Sur: Biofuels

Brazil plays a key role in discussions of biofuels as an alternative to fossil fuels. Since the 1970s, the country has gained extensive experience in the admixture of alcohol distilled from sugar cane. Recently, engines have come onto the market that can be filled with any mixture of alcohol and gasoline. In addition, the Brazilian government under President Lula da Silva has launched a new biodiesel program that supports the production of oil crops by small-scale farmers. Efforts to require the admixture of biofuels in Europe and the United States have caused a veritable sugar cane boom in Brazil.

Following an initial widespread wave of euphoria, non-governmental organizations and social movements have become increasingly skeptical in the meantime. The massive expansion of energy crops can hardly occur without interfering in sensitive ecosystems and will further marginalize small-scale production. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's Rio de Janeiro office has taken up the debate and issued five publications on this issue, including a study by energy expert Celio Berman, who argues that biodiesel production has so far been based primarily on soy and therefore tends to support major producers instead of small-scale farmers. The most recent publication presents initiatives that plant and utilize energy crops at the local level.

Moscow/Chelyabinsk: "Mayak – 50 Years of Tragedy" Photo Exhibition

On 29 September 1957, a tank of radioactive waste exploded at the Mayak nuclear fuel reprocessing plant near Chelyabinsk in Russia. Approximately 20 million curies of radiation were released into the atmosphere – not much less than the Chernobyl accident 30 years later. The radioactive cloud contaminated an area of approximately 23,000 square kilometers, and about 270,000 people were affected. About 10,000 persons were resettled, and their villages were razed to the ground.

The disaster remained a secret for a long time. The Soviet Union did not officially admit the accident until the beginning of 1990. Most of those affected have received neither compensation nor recognition as victims of the disaster. Thus they continue to live in the shadow of the nuclear facility, which is among the most important production sites of Russia's nuclear power industry. And Mayak continues to contaminate the environment, since low-level radioactive waste continues to be fed unfiltered into the Techa river.

To commemorate the 50th anniversary of the disaster, the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Russia – together with Ecodefense and the group "Planet of Hope" from the city of Ozyorsk near the Mayak nuclear plant – organized a photo exhibition that was shown in September 2007 in Chelyabinsk and Moscow. In December, a portion of the exhibition traveled to Bali, where it was shown during the international Climate Change Conference.

Slow Trade – Sound Farming
A Multilateral Framework for Sustainable Markets in Agriculture
Publ. by Heinrich Böll Foundation and Misereor
Berlin 2008, 94 pages

www.ecofair-trade.org



Sugar cane cultivation in Batatis, Brazil.
Increasing demand for biofuels have caused a veritable sugar cane boom.

www.boell-latinoamerica.org – website of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Brazil Office



The half life of nuclear accidents is long, although (even though) nature quickly takes over the warning signs

"Mayak – Half a Century of Disaster" – the photo exhibition can also be accessed on the Internet at www.boell.ru

International Democracy Promotion

The Heinrich Böll Foundation supports democratization processes worldwide and is actively committed to enhancing respect for human rights. This includes a special emphasis on the promotion of political participation and empowerment for women. The Foundation works primarily with civil society actors but also seeks contact to democratic parties and other actors who are relevant to the policymaking process.

Dossier: "Afghanistan – Civil reconstruction, military peace consolidation, and domestic development" at www.boell.de. This dossier contains a comprehensive collection of articles on Afghanistan's political and social development, on regional perspectives, and on the contributions of Germany and the international community to on-the-ground peace-building efforts.

Since early 2007, the Heinrich Böll Foundation has been active in Afghanistan. It promotes the civic and democratic development of the country and supports the establishment of non-governmental organizations.

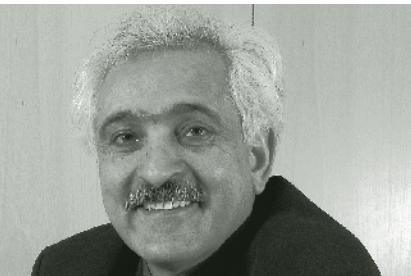
Afghanistan: "Illusions and Realities: The Rocky Path toward Political Reconstruction and Development"

Background Paper

So far, the strategy of democratization via "regime change" does not appear to be working in the case of Afghanistan. In a joint background paper, Barbara Unmüßig, member of the executive board of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, and Ute Koczy, development policy spokeswoman of Alliance90/The Greens, advocate a comprehensive change of course in international reconstruction assistance for Afghanistan. "Operation Enduring Freedom" has failed, they posit, and must be ended. The priority now must be on civil reconstruction and development policy services. The authors argue that the ISAF mandate should be continued only to secure civil reconstruction. And the paramount goal of international assistance must be to strengthen the capacity of the Afghan state and its institutions to act independently and effectively. The Afghan government must be empowered to guarantee security and the rule of law on its own. Moreover, the reconstruction of administrative, judicial and law enforcement structures must be conceptually linked and placed on a much more solid financial basis.

Berlin: Dr. Rangin Dadfar Spanta reports from Afghanistan

Afghan Foreign Minister Dr. Rangin Spanta visited Germany's capital in January 2007. In a public panel discussion organized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, he explained the political developments and foreign policy challenges facing Afghanistan. He underscored the significance of civil society forces and their close connection to the fight against corruption and the demand for transparency. For Spanta, Afghanistan offers the opportunity to engage in successful state-building on the basis of democratic principles. He emphasized that this opportunity needs to be made clear to the global public. Above all, the key is to support short-term projects to enhance the credibility and legitimacy of state-building efforts. He also argued, however, that more investment is needed in long-term programs to build sustainable labor markets and to offer concrete prospects to the general population. Spanta emphasized that a state which is not in a position to protect the lives of its citizens and offer them services soon loses its legitimacy.



Dr. Rangin Spanta, Afghan Foreign Minister, was one of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's first fellows and received his doctorate in political science from RWTH Aachen University.

International Assistance and Governance in Afghanistan
A study by Hamish Nixon. Ed. by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin 2007, 40 pages
ISBN 978-3-927760-66-0

www.ladeleb.org

International Projects and Partner Organizations of the Heinrich Böll Foundation – Key Examples

Lebanon: Campaign for Election Law Reform. For over 10 years, the Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections (LADE) has been monitoring parliamentary and community elections and exposing improprieties. Following the political changes that occurred in 2005, LADE has been focusing primarily on the modernization of Lebanese election law. LADE is a founding member of the Civil Campaign for Electoral Reform (CCER), a coalition of 57 Lebanese non-governmental organizations that is conducting a concerted civil society campaign to promote election law reform. In particular, the Campaign wants to see elements of proportional representation introduced into the political process, in order to guarantee a better reflection of the country's political diversity and to strengthen the representation of non-denominational, program-oriented political positions. In 2007, LADE sponsored numerous town hall meetings in Lebanese provinces. It also organized events at Lebanese universities and meetings with members of political parties represented in government. LADE also runs an election monitoring network.

China: Assistance for Criminal Defense Attorneys. China's economy has become the engine of an ailing global economy, but not all Chinese citizens are profiting from the country's

economic boom. Seizures of property, forced resettlements and environmental pollution that threatens the livelihood of citizens are the by-products of this rapid industrialization process, and these problems mainly affect the most impoverished. Those who demand compliance with environmental protection standards and the payment of compensation usually lose their legal challenges. People are increasingly becoming confrontational. Protesting farmers are criminalized and land in jail largely because of the close links between local industrial managers and government authorities.

To date, very few attorneys have taken on such cases not only because there is no money to be made, but also because of the obstructions and intimidation that can be expected. Therefore, attorneys have almost no experience in defending citizens who become victims of the justice system while fighting for their rights.

Upon the suggestion of a number of courageous lawyers who defend farmers in rural provinces, often without charging a fee, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Beijing office is working together with the environmental committee of the All China Lawyer's Association (ACLA) to develop a handbook for defense lawyers who are involved in criminal cases arising from large-scale environmental conflicts. The launch of this project coincided with a key case study from 2007: several attorneys supported by the project represented eight farmers from the Guangxi Province in southern China. These farmers had been sentenced to prison for protesting against a paper factory that was causing health and environmental damage. The case and the experiences gained from the trial were discussed by lawyers, legal scholars and farmers at a workshop in Beijing.

Publication of the lawyers' handbook is expected in 2008. It will be distributed by the ACLA and is intended to encourage lawyers to take on such cases and successfully defend them. Initial successes have already been achieved: at the appellate level, lawyers won the acquittal of six of the imprisoned farmers and sentence reductions for the others. In announcing the decision, the judge expressed his respect for the farmers and distrust of the operators of the paper factories. In the meantime, nearly 200 paper factories of this type have been shut down in the region.

South Africa: Improved Cooperation between Parliament and Civil Society. South Africa's new constitution has provided a multitude of opportunities for political participation by its citizens. For example, public hearings regularly take place in the South African parliament in which individuals and civil society groups are able to state their positions on new legislative initiatives and policy debates. In principle, both sides can profit from this: the parliamentarians are able to improve their knowledge about specific issues, and the citizens are able to exert influence on political decision-making processes. In practice, however, for many organizations it is difficult to participate in a parliamentary hearing. Small civil society groups in particular often have difficulty obtaining information on the time schedule and agenda of the hearings, and they frequently lack the financial means to prepare effectively for the hearings or even to cover travel expenses.

In such cases, the Heinrich Böll Foundation attempts to provide support. For example, in June 2007, the Foundation's Cape Town office collaborated with Earthlife Africa to help South African environmental groups prepare for a parliamentary hearing on the issue of nuclear energy. Approximately 50 participants from civil society took part in the hearing, which lasted for 12 hours. Half of those who took part in the hearing had attended the preparatory workshop at the Foundation office, including former employees of the test reactor in Pelindaba who today suffer from health injuries resulting from exposure to elevated levels of radiation. Their statements made a powerful impression on the parliamentarians, who resolved at the end of the hearing to visit the communities in the vicinity of the Pelindaba and Koeberg reactors to gain a clearer impression of the safety risks linked to the production of nuclear power in South Africa.

Zimbabwe and Namibia: Free Media in Southern Africa. For a number of years now, the Heinrich Böll Foundation has supported efforts to promote free and independent radio journalism in Namibia and Zimbabwe. The Foundation supports programming that provides information on current political issues and that allows listeners to express themselves freely. At present, this has particular relevance in Zimbabwe, where the narrow window for free, democratic expression has been closing more and more tightly. The Foundation also provides support to initiatives that disseminate independent information and analyses via radio and the Internet and are therefore able to reach both urban and rural audiences. The Foundation's partners are among the very few reliable sources of information in Zimbabwe.

In Namibia, the Foundation has worked together with its Namibian partners to revive the Katutura Community Radio (KCR) station. KCR broadcasts from Windhuk's largest township, providing a voice to the marginalized township community.



Chinese farmers are suffering increasingly from the impacts of environmental damages.

www.boell-china.org – website of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's China Office



Preparatory workshop for a parliamentary hearing on the issue of nuclear energy.

www.boell.org.za – website of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Southern Africa Regional Office



Katutura Community Radio in Windhuk, Namibia

The dossier "What Next in Zimbabwe?" looks at the latest developments following the March 2008 elections. At www.boell.org.za

Foreign and Security Policy

The foreign and security policy agenda is in the midst of a process of profound change. Today more than ever, international actors must confront the question of how to establish a global order that provides a framework to ensure that conflicts of interest are settled in a peaceful manner, to foster cooperation, and to prevent the escalation of conflicts. The need to develop this type of political architecture is even more urgent in the face of increasing tensions over the distribution of scarce resources, the emergence of new powers, and the challenges posed by new forms of non-state power and violence. The Heinrich Böll Foundation organizes and supports a wide range of activities to foster the discussion and development of multilateral solutions to today's foreign and security policy challenges and to examine Europe's role within the international community.



(l-r) Reinhard Bütkofer, Co-Chair of Alliance 90/The Greens; Frauke Seidensticker, German Institute for Human Rights; and Song Xinning, United Nations University Bruges, at the 8th Annual Foreign Policy Conference.

Berlin: Western Policy towards China – Between Strategic Competition and Cooperation

Annual Foreign Policy Conference

In recent years, China's expanding economic strength and more active foreign policy has made it an increasingly important counterpart for the West. There are many security policy challenges that can no longer be effectively addressed without China's involvement. At the same time, China's ambitions with regard to resources and the distribution of power also contain the potential for conflict.

This situation raises several fundamental questions: Is there a latent conflict between interest-based policies and human rights policies with respect to China? How do China and the West define their strategic interests – and are there enough overlapping common interests to resolve potential conflicts through compromise? Might energy and climate policy become a field of strategic cooperation between the EU and China?

The Heinrich Böll Foundation's 8th Annual Foreign Policy Conference was held on 6-7 September 2007 in Berlin and examined Western policy toward China, focusing particularly on the values, interests and strategic calculations upon which this policy is based. David Shambaugh of George Washington University pointed out that the China policies of the United States and the EU are increasingly shaped by similar priorities and concerns. In contrast, Eberhard Sandschneider of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für auswärtige Politik (German Council on Foreign Relations) highlighted the divergent interests of the EU and the U.S. Reinhard Bütkofer, Co-Chair of Alliance 90/The Greens, emphasized that the West should replace its dichotomous view of China as either competitor or partner with a view of China as both competitor and partner. For Bütkofer, whether and to what extent China is a partner or a competitor does not depend just on China's policies. Rather, it also depends upon our conduct toward China. Song Xinning of the United Nations University in Bruges emphasized the fact that China and the EU have different ideas about the basis of their mutually declared "strategic partnership." He argued that, while the Chinese definition is too broad and covers nearly every possible aspect of China-EU relations, the European definition is too narrow because it focuses solely on security. There was general agreement that Europe still lacks clear strategic ideas regarding China's role within the multilateral system and the global security architecture. Thus extensive further discussions and consultations are needed in order for the EU to develop a real foreign policy strategy toward China and to build strategic cooperation with the United States in this respect.



Dr. Gudrun Wacker, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs)

Berlin: Roadmap to 1325

Conference

Peace and security cannot be achieved without a gender perspective. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's Gunda Werner Institute (GWI) highlights this issue in its work. In 2007, the GWI focused on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 within European security policy. The conference "Roadmap to 1325" was held from 4-6 May 2007 in Berlin in cooperation with the Women's Security Council, Amnesty International, and WOMNET. The event served as the kick-off for a "relay race" throughout Europe: in each country that assumes the rotating, six-month EU Council Presidency, public information is provided regarding the contents of the resolution, and strategies for its implementation are discussed with each respective Presidency.

Resolution 1325 – which is binding under international law – provides that women are to be included in all decisions regarding foreign and security policy, and that the gender perspective must be taken into account. However, the resolution is constantly being violated. At the conference, more than 150 experts, policymakers and activists formulated recommendations for improving the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Europe. The conference ended with the symbolic transfer of a relay baton from the German Women's Security Council to civil society representatives from Portugal and Slovenia, who agreed to organize follow-up events in their countries.

The topic of women and security policy receives little coverage in the media. Few news stories, in-depth reports or analyses examine armed conflict, military policies and the build-up of weapons from the perspective of gender relations. In fall 2007, the GWI initiated the GAMS group (Gender Analysis, Media and Security policy) together with journalists active in these fields. The group develops strategies and concepts to change reporting practices and to sensitize the public on this issue.

Israel: Monitoring the Implementation of the Israeli Law on Resolution 1325

Project

The Heinrich Böll Foundation is working together with Itach (Women Lawyers for Social Justice) on a project to support the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Israel. According to a comparative study initiated by Itach as a part of the project, Israel is the only country that has enacted national legislation to implement Resolution 1325. Itach monitors the extent to which women from various backgrounds and political viewpoints are actually included – as required by the law – in the committees that work on implementing the Peace Process or on home affairs, foreign and security policy. In cases of non-compliance with the law, Itach contacts the relevant ministries and demands corresponding changes.

More information on the Roadmap to 1325 is available at www.gwi-boell.de
A book on the subject will be published in 2008.

Peace and Security for All. A feminist critique of the current peace and security policy
Publications of the Feminist Institute No 10
Berlin, 2006, 72 pages

Palestine/Israel: Combatants for Peace

Project

The "Combatants for Peace" are former fighters, including both Israelis – most of whom have served for years in the occupied Palestinian territories as part of elite Israeli army units working to suppress the Intifada – as well as Palestinians who have spent years in Israeli prisons following armed attacks against the occupying forces. Today, they are united in the conviction that no military solution is possible for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. After often horrifying personal experiences in the vicious circle of violence begetting violence, these "ex-combatants" are working together to achieve a non-violent resolution to the conflict. Since 2005, they have been meeting in small groups to speak about their experiences, exchange ideas, and to get to know the other side – a difficult and sometimes painful endeavor which cuts to the core and requires the assistance of interpreters and psychologists. Due to Israel's separation policy and numerous types of travel restrictions, it is especially difficult for the Palestinians to reach the meeting venues.

With the financial support of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, a modicum of organizational structure was able to be established in 2007; in particular, the Foundation's assistance helped strengthen the outreach and public relations activities of the Combatants for Peace. Teams comprised of one Israeli and one Palestinian "combatant" visit schools, universities and community centers to talk about their dialogue efforts and to win over young people to work toward a non-violent resolution of the conflict.

In November 2007, the Combatants for Peace received the Common Ground Award from the U.S. peace organization Search for Common Ground for their achievements in promoting peaceful conflict resolution.

www.itach.org.il

Dossier: "Annapolis" at www.boell.de
The November 2007 Annapolis Conference constituted another attempt to forge a path toward a fair and just two-state solution between Israel and a future Palestinian state. The Heinrich Böll Foundation asked experts from the Middle East, the United States and Germany to provide their assessments of the Annapolis process. The contributions to the Annapolis dossier attracted a high level of interest and offered a differentiated view of background factors and current developments.

www.combatantsforpeace.org



(l-r) Reinhold Breider, EU Delegation, Bill Frelick, Human Rights Watch, Said Hakkı, Iraqi Red Crescent, at the Washington conference on Iraq's Displacement Crisis.

Washington: Iraq's Displacement Crisis and the International Response

Conference

Europe cannot remain uninvolved in dealing with the consequences of the Iraq War – this quickly became clear at a conference in December 2007 on the refugee crisis in Iraq. The conference, organized in cooperation with the Center for American Progress, was one of the very first conferences in the U.S. capital to address the situation of Iraqi war refugees. Representatives from United Nations and refugee organizations called upon the EU and the United States to deliver more humanitarian aid to the region and to exert pressure on Iraq's neighbors to improve the status of refugees and thereby to facilitate their access to public services.

Berlin: Virtual Trauma Counseling

Training Program

The population of Iraq has experienced so much physical and psychological violence through the war that a large number of children and adults exhibit severe post-traumatic disturbances. But emotional illness – and asking for treatment or assistance in this connection – are stigmatized in the Arab region. In order to provide help in this important area, the Berlin Center for the Treatment of Torture Victims and its counterpart in Kirkuk have developed a special method: treatment via the Internet. This "virtual counseling" enables victims of violence to talk about their experiences in a safe space in order to overcome the "shame" they have experienced and to reintegrate themselves into everyday social life. With the support of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, psychologists from Iraq, Syria, Egypt and Palestine came to Berlin in November 2007 to receive training in virtual trauma counseling. Among other things, participants received clinical training in the diagnosis and clinical manifestation of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as well as complicated grief. Special focus was placed on the treatment of patients who had been victims of torture or terrorist attacks. The program also examined various treatment strategies, questions surrounding the relationship between patient and counselor, and the safety and effectiveness of therapy that uses writing as a tool. Other program components focused on international human rights conventions and how to deal effectively with gender-specific violence. Additional training measures are planned for 2008.



Psychologists from Iraq, Syria, Egypt and Palestine came to Berlin to receive training in virtual trauma counseling.

New Delhi: The Indo-U.S. Nuclear Deal

Conference

India has ambitious nuclear goals for the 21st century. In 2006, India and the United States ushered in a new nuclear era by signing a cooperation agreement (known as the "Indo-U.S. Nuclear Deal") which provided significant fuel for international debate over the issue of non-proliferation. Following the negotiation of a "123 Agreement" in July 2007, which stipulates the precise conditions and technical specifications for trade in nuclear materials, it was clearly time to expose aspects of the deal that had been ignored up to that point and to discuss the deal's direct impact on the region and on the international nuclear regime. The "Indo-U.S. Nuclear Deal" conference was held in New Delhi on 31 August – 1 September 2007 and was organized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in cooperation with the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP) and the Popular Education and Action Centre (PEACE). Together with over 600 participants, experts from the United States, the EU, Pakistan, Nepal and various regions in India debated the strategic and geopolitical dimensions of the agreement, its impact on disarmament efforts in South Asia and around the globe, as well as the risks of nuclear energy.

The economist Jean Drèze highlighted the problematic aspects of deterrence policy and argued that there is no responsible way to deal with nuclear energy, particularly nuclear weapons. One plenary session pointed out that the agreement had placed the United States in a long-term, dominant global position with respect to the trade in nuclear materials and the arms industry. Another plenary session focused on the risks of an accelerating nuclear arms race in South Asia and in Asia as a whole. The general tenor of this session was that, by concluding the agreement, both India and the United States have not only distanced themselves from the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, but are also taking the risk that an increasing number of countries will adopt a policy of deterrence. A third plenary meeting looked at the higher level of energy- and cost-efficiency that renewable energy sources offer in comparison to nuclear energy and analyzed the financial and environmental risks of nuclear energy. The conference closed with the consensus that the "Indo-U.S. Nuclear Deal" is not in India's interests and is a departure from the premises of nuclear disarmament, peaceful coexistence and sustainable energy policies.

Global Gender Policy

Gender policy, together with feminist analyses and strategies, have a permanent place and a special status in the work of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. Gender policy is one of the trademarks of the Foundation's political activities as well as its organizational structure. Thus in terms of organizational development, the Foundation serves as a pioneer and model for many other organizations.

Washington: Promoting Gender Justice in Global Economic and Financial Policy

Summer School

How can economic theory and practice – which today is largely gender-blind – be changed so that the goal of all economic activity is not to reap economic profit as a value unto itself, but rather to achieve social justice and respect for human (and particularly women's) rights, and thereby ultimately to achieve gender justice? This was one of the fundamental questions addressed by participants from 37 countries during the 5th International Summer School of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Washington office in summer 2007. For seven days, the participants expanded their basic knowledge of macroeconomics and honed their criticism of orthodox liberal economic policies, which postulate growth as the solitary goal and trade liberalization in developing countries as the most important driver of economic growth. Characterized as gender-neutral by the financial institutions themselves, these policies clearly exhibit gender-differentiated effects that are disproportionately disadvantageous to women. The Summer School students analyzed these issues by looking at examples such as the "inflation bias" of the global monetary watchdogs of the IMF – that is, if state social, health and educational services for the poorer segments of the population are eliminated, women must assume these obligations to provide care – without pay – and this is not reflected in any country's national economic statistics. Participants also learned about feminist criticisms of traditional trade, tax and financial policies at both the national and international levels, giving them a sharper eye for approaches to solutions, which include gender budgets and a gender-sensitive tax system.

www.boell.org – website of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Washington, D.C. office



5th Summer School in Washington: 65 participants from 37 countries engaged in a critical examination of international economic and financial policies.

Gender Budgeting and Gender Mainstreaming – Two Pilot Projects

Palestine: Gender budgeting at the community level. The idea for this project came from a Heinrich Böll Foundation conference in Amman, Jordan – while exchanging experiences in advocating gender-sensitive public budgets, participants from many Arabic countries quickly agreed that there were efforts in this regard at the national level, but that they were largely absent at the community level. The same is true for Palestine. Thus the Foundation's Ramallah office worked together with MIFTAH, a Palestinian non-governmental organization for dialogue and democracy, to develop a concept for a six-month pilot project at the community level. This pilot project was carried out with the support of the Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (the German agency for technical cooperation) in the town of Bir Zeit near Ramallah. On the basis of a "gender audit" – which focuses primarily on the gender-relevant impacts of local services – workshops and training sessions on gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting were conducted with participating community council members and community administration staff. Local women's groups were included in the process in order to ensure cooperation between civil society organizations and community bodies and thereby provide the necessary transparency for reform processes. The experiences gained through the pilot project were then written down in the form of a handbook, which is designed to serve as an impetus and model for gender-sensitive budgetary reforms in other community administrations. The experts are also forming a pool that will be available to provide training programs in other communities, cities and districts so that gender-democratic decision-making procedures and gender-sensitive budgeting processes can be implemented in as many communities as possible.

www.boell-ameo.org – website of Heinrich Böll Foundation's Middle East Regional Office

Mexico City: Gender Mainstreaming in the Human Rights Commission. In recent years, the Heinrich Böll Foundation has been providing support to the women's organization Equidad de Género, which has been entrusted with the implementation of gender mainstreaming in Mexico's Human Rights Commission. This project is not merely of symbolic character. The recognition that human rights violations against women are different from those against men can help policymakers to provide appropriate forms of protection that address the differentiated needs of their citizens. This project has proven so successful that

www.boell-latinoamerica.org – website of Heinrich Böll Foundation's Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean Regional Office

www.equidad.org.mx

gender mainstreaming has become a fixed component of the Commission's institutional structure and work routines. This success is due both to Commission members' openness and willingness to dissolve outdated structures and to Equidad de Género's many years of consistent, dedicated work. Following the introduction of gender mainstreaming principles and procedures, the Commission has not been left on its own; rather, Equidad engages in monitoring activities to ensure continued progress. Moreover, this model is in increasing demand: Equidad de Género has also restructured San Salvador's city hall in a gender-balanced manner, and it has now received an inquiry from Mexico's Supreme Court – gender mainstreaming will also be introduced there within the overall framework of judicial reform.



How do China's reform policies affect the lives of women in China? The Heinrich Böll Foundation is supporting academic research on this issue.

www.boell-china.org – website of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's China Office

China: Women's Access to the Labor Market and Social Security

Research Project

China's economic reforms have had a fundamental impact on the structure of Chinese society, particularly on the role of women. The transformation from a planned economy to a market economy raises the pressure to work efficiently and to be competitive, and requires greater mobility from the work force. Social security systems that would guarantee families a basic standard of living do not exist. Faced with the dual pressures of flexibility (for work) and care (for the family), women's tasks are diversifying, and these changes are accompanied by new problems.

Very few academic studies have been conducted on the impacts of these reform policies on the lives of women. As a result, there is a shortage of constructive proposals on how women can be ensured access to both work and social security. To help reduce this academic blind spot, the Heinrich Böll Foundation made it possible for two Chinese social scientists to take a research trip to India in early 2007. This led to the establishment of a network of women who specialize in economics, the social sciences and gender issues. Together with the Foundation's Beijing office, they designed a research project whose aim was to generate knowledge and insights that can lead to gender-sensitive labor and social policies. Two research teams – comprised of experts from government and academic institutions from all over China – focused on (a) the impact of the state's retreat from the provision of social services, and (b) the effects that the closure of state-owned enterprises has had on women's access to the labor market, forms of employment, and social security. The findings of the research teams will be presented at several conferences in 2008, and a corresponding publication is planned.

Nairobi and Addis Ababa: Equality of Opportunity for Women in Politics and Society

Gender Forums

In December 2007, presidential and parliamentary elections took place in Kenya. Throughout the year, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's gender forums in Nairobi – which have become a tradition and bring together about 200 participants from civil society, government, academic institutions, and the media on nearly a monthly basis – were dominated by the gender issues raised by the elections. The range of topics was broad: What are the experiences of Kenya's female politicians in dealing with party apparatuses and the media? What specific risks –including threats of violence – are they subjected to as soon as they become candidates for political office? And what do the parties have to offer Kenyan women in the first place?

The results of the parliamentary elections – unlike those for the presidency – remained relatively uncontested. And they constituted a limited success, because the number of women in parliament nearly doubled. This was due in part to the work of organizations such as the "Centre for Multi-Party Democracy," which conducted special training programs for women candidates with the support of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. The organization was given the opportunity to present its strategies at one of the gender forums.

The Foundation's Addis Ababa office has been holding gender forums since 2007 as well. Their goal is to link international discussions on gender equality to concrete conditions and problems in Ethiopia. An important secondary objective of the gender forums in Addis Ababa is to breathe new life into the stiff and formalized structure of public debate in Ethiopia. A total of eight events centered on the National Action Plan for Gender Equality, which was just recently adopted by the Ethiopian government. This was the first time that representatives from the government and civil society openly discussed this type of policy planning document. It became clear that the Action Plan's implementation will require some intensive follow-up work. In 2008, the forums will focus on the impacts that environmental, social and economic changes are having on the role of women in Ethiopia.

www.boell-nigeria.org – website of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Nigeria Office



The National Action Plan for Gender Equality was the focus of the gender forums in Addis Ababa.

Europe

One of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's main priorities is to organize and support activities that focus on the shaping of Europe's political future. Internal "deepening" – through the continued reform of European institutions – and external "widening" – through enlargement and European neighborhood policies – are two sides of the same coin. Through its civic education activities, the Foundation strives to contribute to the creation a well-informed European public that is actively involved in debates over Europe's future. In its activities directed toward European policy, the Foundation cooperates with non-governmental organizations, policymakers, think tanks, universities and Green networks.

Berlin: The Future of the Constitutional Treaty

Study

The European Union is currently suffering from a lack of momentum. The European constitutional treaty, which was viewed with such hope, is at a standstill, the accession negotiations with Turkey have ground to a halt, and "enlargement fatigue" is even spreading to parliaments and governments. There is still no feasible consensus among the European states and populations regarding Europe's ultimate destination. Only one thing seems clear: new paths must be forged. In February 2007, the Heinrich Böll Foundation unveiled a study that it had commissioned on the future of the constitutional treaty. The study's author, Dr. Michaele Schreyer, a former EU Commissioner, describes possibilities for revitalizing the constitutional process and endowing it with new legitimacy. She suggests dividing the existing constitutional treaty into two documents: first, a "constitutional treaty" in the narrower sense of the term, and second, an "implementation treaty" on the concrete policy areas in which the EU is active. Further, the constitutional treaty should be amended to include Community initiatives such as the introduction of minimum social standards and a "European Community for renewable energies." These accompanying initiatives in key policy areas that directly affect people's lives would help to increase citizens' acceptance of the constitutional treaty.

The study argues against a complete renegotiation of the treaty as well as a "mini-treaty" that would implement only part of the originally planned reforms for the EU; it also formulates concrete recommendations for action for Germany's EU Council Presidency in the first half of 2007.

Belgrade: Discussion with Joachim Rücker on the future of Kosovo

On 23 November 2007, the Heinrich Böll Foundation organized a panel discussion in the Serbian capital of Belgrade that focused on Kosovo's impending decision concerning its status. Guests included Joachim Rücker, head of the UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), moderate Kosovo Serb politician Oliver Ivanovic, and Sonja Biserko, head of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia. This event – which involved the first public appearance of the UNMIK head following parliamentary elections in Kosovo, and which took place two weeks before the end of the final international attempt to mediate the status conflict – was held at a crucial, volatile moment in Serbian politics. This was reflected in the extraordinary level of media interest as well as the demonstrative absence of the Serbian political elite. Rücker argued that, even if international mediation efforts were to fail, the status decision should not be delayed any longer, because prolonging the uncertain status of Kosovo would only play into the hands of extremists on both sides. Oliver Ivanovic, head of the only moderate Serbian political party in Kosovo, the "Serbian List for Kosovo and Metohija," expressed his opposition to independence while criticizing the government in Belgrade for urging an election boycott that had led a large number of Serbs not to cast votes in the Kosovo parliamentary elections. He said that Kosovo Serbs felt abandoned and forgotten by Belgrade. Sonja Biserko shared his criticism of the Belgrade plan to divide Kosovo. In her view, it had been Belgrade's strategy from the very outset to push for the division of Kosovo, and this division had already been partly accomplished: the Serb majority in the north was functioning largely in isolation from the Albanian majority in the rest of Kosovo. She also criticized Serbia's increasing self-isolation, which was occurring primarily to the detriment of democratic forces. The three discussion partners saw a shimmer of hope in the fact that both the Serbs and Albanians shared the common ambition of joining the EU.



"Concrete agreements added to the constitutional treaty as protocols on social protection and a new major European project to create a 'European Community for renewable energies' can give positive new momentum to the ongoing ratification process." Dr. Michaele Schreyer during the unveiling of the study in Berlin.

Publication Series on Europe, Volume 2:
The Future of the Constitutional Treaty
A Study by Micheale Schreyer
Berlin 2007, 40 pages
ISBN 978-3-927760-61-5
Download at www.boell.de

www.boell.be – website of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's European Union Office



(l-r) Joachim Rücker, head of UNMIK in Prishtina, and Oliver Ivanovic, head of the only moderate Serbian Political Party, the "Serbian List for Kosovo and Metohija."

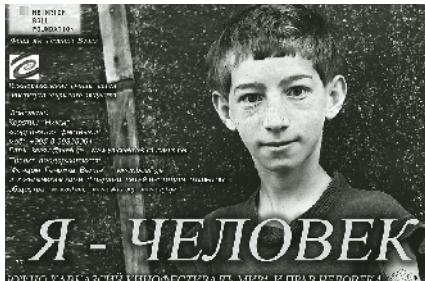
Georgia/Istanbul: Taking a Closer Look at the Conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia

Dialogue Series

For years now, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's South Caucasus regional office in Tbilisi has been playing an important role in mediating and organizing informal dialogues on the conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia. At regular meetings, important political and civil society representatives from both parties to the conflict discuss various aspects of the conflict with international guests. Radio broadcasts of the discussions, as well as the publication of summaries of the events, ensure transparency and outreach. As a part of this dialogue series, an international conference was held in Istanbul from 12-15 June 2007, which focused on the current state of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict and the impact that Georgia's potential accession to NATO would have on the peace process. Of particular significance was the fact that, for the first time, a direct exchange took place between an official NATO representative and the Abkhazian side. It became clear how important it is for NATO to rethink its communication policies so that Georgia's increasingly close relations with NATO do not have an escalating effect on the secession conflicts in Georgia. Nevertheless, no uniform hostility toward NATO was discernible among the representatives from Abkhazia; rather, they hoped that Georgia's political leadership would become more disciplined and moderate in dealing with the conflicts if Georgia were to be integrated into powerful international organizations. In contrast, Russia's view toward NATO gave the impression that Russia would be more likely to sharpen its opposition to Georgian NATO membership in the coming years (i.e. in the run-up to the 2014 Olympics in Sochi).

www.boell.ge – website of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Southern Caucasus Regional Office

A conference documentation will be published in 2008 in Russian and English as volume 14 of the series, "Aspects of the Georgian-Abkhazian Conflict."



More information on the film festival can be found at www.ya-chelovek.caucasus.net

South Caucasus: "Nationality: Human"

Film Festival

From May to October 2007, the documentary film festival "Nationality: Human" toured with great success through 25 towns in the South Caucasus. The festival screened international documentaries that address the issues of human rights and conflict; all of the films were selected by an international jury with representatives from all regions of the South Caucasus. The very fact that the films were shown in places where no public events had taken place for many years assured a strong public response. A minibus brought the festival team and the necessary technology to the local organizers, who organized extensive accompanying programs. Discussions following the screenings with young people, students and the older generation touched on many core issues associated with the conflicts in the South Caucasus, such as the willingness of victims and perpetrators to reconcile and forgive, the need to examine and grapple with the root causes of conflict, media constructions of the "enemy", and the situation of war veterans. The festival was initiated by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in cooperation with the Open Society Foundation.



Grigorijs Pasko, environmental journalist

Berlin: Potential for Environmental Modernization in Germany and Russia

The issue of establishing environmentally sustainable economic systems has finally arrived where it belongs: at the center of international policy discussions. Germany and Russia both have key roles in this area.

The 12th German-Russian Autumn Talks – held on 26-27 October 2007 and organized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in cooperation with the German-Russian Exchange and the Protestant Academy of Berlin – focused on the potential for environmental modernization in Russia and the role that German-Russian cooperation could play in this respect. Sviatoslav Sabelin of the Social-Ecological Union, one of the most important Russian NGO networks in the environmental field, argued that Russian policy in recent years has turned its back on environmental issues. He added that environmental issues do not play a role in elections, and that climate protection and nature conservation are not included in the programs of leading political parties. Further, environmental impact assessments formerly mandated by law have been eliminated, despite the fact that a large majority of the population lives under conditions of extreme air pollution.

Economic cooperation between the EU and Russia has had some positive outcomes, however. As one example, participants mentioned the introduction of environmental certification procedures in Russia's forest industry, which came about as a result of increasing demands from Western companies that their Russian suppliers comply with environmental standards. Claus Hipp, president of the Association of German Industry in Russia, emphasized that this type of successful economic cooperation can provide a valuable impetus to the modernization of the Russian economy. Hipp emphasized that, given Russia's wealth of raw materials and German industry's status as a leader in the field of environmental technology, there is great potential for cooperation between the two countries.



Tobias Münchmeyer, Greenpeace Germany

Migration and Intercultural Management

The concept of an intercultural democracy is currently being called into question from many sides. The Heinrich Böll Foundation remains committed to this priority and works actively to promote an open society in which people of diverse ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds can live together harmoniously. In its dialogue with representatives of minority groups, the Foundation addresses questions of integration policy and forms strategic alliances for an immigration policy that fits the times we live in. Within its own structures and organization, the Foundation takes a positive and productive approach toward diversity and fosters the intercultural competence of its staff.

Germany: New Alliance for Integration

Series

Immigrants are an integral part of German society, but many of them do not participate actively in public life. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's event series, "New Alliances for Integration," examined the reasons for this inadequate level of participation, while also showing examples of people who successfully participate in shaping our society. The series concluded with a conference on 30 November 2007 in Berlin, which focused on the debates and findings of the expert workshops that had taken place during the preceding two years. Participants agreed that the elimination of political, legal and structural barriers is a fundamental prerequisite for achieving the successful, broad-based integration of immigrants. The educational system plays a key role here in bridging social and language-based obstacles. In addition, immigrants need more effective support for their efforts to take their own initiative. Supportive measures and skills-building programs (such as language classes, fellowships, mentoring programs, and practical training) must be designed in a more differentiated and targeted manner.

www.migration-boell.de is the Heinrich Böll Foundation's website on immigration policy. It presents dossiers on current issues, manuscripts of conference lectures, and much more (primarily in German).

Berlin: "Muslim + German = So What!"

Open Space Event

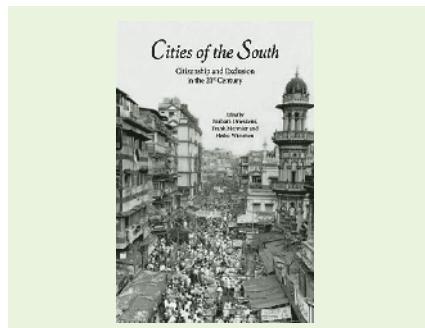
Three and a half million Muslims live in Germany. More than 40 percent of them are under the age of 25. They are second- or third-generation residents of Germany and are often familiar with the homeland of their parents or grandparents only through stories. They have long since arrived in the mainstream of German society.

In February 2007, the Heinrich Böll Foundation organized an "open space" event that provided a forum for Muslims and non-Muslims to discuss the opportunities and challenges they face. For example, in the group on "Intercultural Youth Services," Önder Kurt and Murat Lencper gave a presentation on the activities of the Kiezboom organization in Berlin's Wedding district, which is known as a "problem district." A workshop with theater and film director Neco Celik, called "When is a Muslim in Germany a Muslim?" focused on fundamental questions about Islam. Participants in this workshop also engaged in personal and controversial discussions on the role of the Koran and understandings of holy Muslim writings. During the concluding session, the working groups presented their findings to Claudia Roth, Co-chair of Alliance 90/The Greens, and – despite the day's preceding marathon discussions – continued their heated discussion on the topic of "The Patriotism of German Muslims."

Berlin: The Migration-Security Nexus in Light of the German EU Presidency

Transatlantic Expert Meeting

At an expert meeting held in Berlin in March 2007, European and U.S. experts discussed current U.S. and European laws related to security policy and their impacts on the migratory flows and integration of immigrants. The event was held during Germany's EU Presidency, which gave added relevance to discussions on the future development of European immigration policy within the context of security policy. The conference was organized in cooperation with the European Forum for Migration Studies in Bamberg and the German Marshall Fund of the United States.



Cities of the South – Citizenship and Exclusion in the 21st Century
Published by Saqi Books
London, Beirut, 330 pages

Authors from nine countries discussed the impact of globalization processes on traditional concepts of citizenship in the metropolises of the South. The publication was produced as part of the conference "Cities and Globalization: Challenges for Citizenship," organized by the Foundation's Beirut office in cooperation with the Institut Français du Proche Orient (IFPO).

Promoting Young Talent – Scholarship Program

The Heinrich Böll Foundation provides support to undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral students in all fields of study, both within Germany and abroad. This support includes funding, advisory services and skills development. The goal of promoting promising young talent is to discover strong potential early and nurture it, and to win over young people to become globally engaged in the pursuit of the Foundation's goals: more democracy, mutual solidarity, environmental action, sustainable policies, and human rights throughout the world.



"Campus" Summer Academy in Bad Bevensen

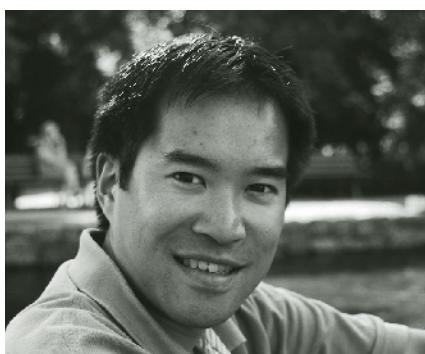
Focus of Support: In its programs and activities to promote talented young people, the Heinrich Böll Foundation combines the ideas of achievement and equal opportunity. In addition to outstanding academic achievement, the Foundation expects its fellows to "see the big picture" by taking on responsibility for the common good and becoming actively involved in social and political issues. In order to reach young people at an early age, students who have received their secondary school certificate (Abitur) are now also eligible to apply for Foundation fellowships.

In 2007, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Scholarship Program selected 326 new fellows from a variety of fields and majors in a complex three-stage selection procedure in which about 1,300 applicants had participated. A total of 769 Fellows received financial support, including 603 undergraduate and graduate students and 166 doctoral candidates. The length of support usually varies from between 1.5–3 years. Women (approximately 66% of fellows in 2007) and people with an immigrant background (approximately 18% in 2007) are specific target groups.

International Exchanges: Creating spaces for international encounters and promoting academic exchange is one of the Foundation's paramount goals. The Scholarship Program provides support to fellows who wish to study, conduct research or obtain practical training abroad. In 2007, a total of 207 fellows went abroad with the Foundation's support. The Scholarship Program also supports foreign undergraduate, graduate and post-graduate students who wish to commence university studies or pursue their doctorate in Germany. About half of all international fellows come from Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS countries.

Conceptual Support/Promotion of Ideas: The Scholarship Program offers its fellows more than just financial support. Through its conceptual support of young scholars, the Heinrich Böll Foundation places a particular priority on providing students with the opportunity to explore their possibilities for action, open up new realms of thought, engage in debates over pressing policy issues, build networks, and participate in international exchanges. The Scholarship Program encourages its fellows to tackle sociopolitical issues and supports the interdisciplinary qualification and personal development of its fellows. This is accomplished through an extensive accompanying program for fellows and alumni that encompasses 70 to 80 events per year throughout the country. Major events that involve over 100 participants include the introductory seminars, which take place twice per year, the one-week "Campus" Summer Academy, and the regular alumni reunions. Furthermore, fellows receive individualized counseling on their course of study, doctoral projects, sojourns abroad, and/or career development. Networking and contact activities round out the program. These include regular meetings and exchanges of views among the fellows themselves, virtual communication via the Intranet (www.boell-studynet.de), and opportunities to obtain practical training, for example in the state-level foundations of the Heinrich Böll Foundation as well as its international offices.

Journalism Programs: In 2007, the Heinrich Böll Foundation launched a media fellowship program entitled "Media Diversity: Young Immigrants into Journalism!". The program is supported by the daily newspaper *die tageszeitung*, by the radio station *Multikulti Radio* (RBB), Deutsche Welle, the agency *Zum goldenen Hirschen*, and the Robert Bosch Foundation. During his presentation of the new program, Executive Board member Ralf Fücks stated: "The media report on immigrants every day. It is high time that journalists with an immigrant background help shape the media. In the United Kingdom and France, social diversity is visible in the print media and prime-time television. But in Germany, immigrants are still the exception. This is what we want to change." The program offers both fellowships and an extensive accompanying program, as well as practical training and vo-



Dr. Christian Chua is a former fellow and received his doctorate in the fields of sociology and political economy with a dissertation on the topic "Chinese Big Business in Indonesia." He subsequently completed a trainee program at Deutsche Bank AG. Today, he is a specialist in human resources development, focusing on matters such as staff retention, the promotion of junior talent, and relationship management with China. He also serves as lecturer in the field of Southeast Asian Studies at the Goethe University in Frankfurt/Main and at Berlin's Humboldt University.

luntary positions at participating media partners. It is targeted specifically toward secondary school graduates and university students from immigrant families and/or binational or intercultural backgrounds who wish to make a career as journalists. The qualification program, which will begin in autumn 2008, will include courses and seminars to impart "hands-on" journalistic skills, issue-specific workshops, and seminars on media policy and professional ethics issues. Cooperation with participating media partners will enable fellows to apply in practice what they learn in the program and to gain access to journalistic networks.

For the second year, the Heinrich Böll Foundation also participated in the European Journalism Fellowship program of the Free University of Berlin (Institute for Media and Communication Studies). This program offers journalists primarily from Eastern and Central Europe and the CIS countries the opportunity to work in Berlin on a research project for one year. Last year, the Heinrich Böll Foundation provided support in the form of a fellowship to a journalist from Slovenia.

Alumni Networking: The Scholarship Program seeks to maintain contact with its constantly expanding group of former fellows (which currently numbers about 1,800) and promotes exchanges and cooperation among them. A regular newsletter informs the alumni about Foundation news and alumni activities. The annual Alumni Salon, held on 5–6 October 2007, focused on the topic "Climate Change: Do We Need a Revolution?". Nearly 100 former fellows engaged in a lively debate on the policy framework underlying the issue of climate change and the question of what each individual can do to foster climate protection. On the eve of the alumni event, a new association – the "Former Fellows of the Heinrich Böll Foundation" – was founded. Its goal is to promote exchanges and mutual support beyond the completion of the fellowship period. The association will offer a "space for reflection" in which alumni can jointly address key sociopolitical issues. In addition to its networking and thematic activities, the association will document its members' expertise and offer it to interested institutions. Further, the former fellows will also offer mentoring support to current fellows. Plans include the establishment of a "solidarity fund" to support fellows experiencing financial emergencies.

International Parliamentary Fellowship Program: Nearly 100 college graduates from France, Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe, and the United States came to Berlin in 2007 for a practical training program with member of the German parliament, the Bundestag, in order to spend several months gaining familiarity with German governmental decision-making processes. The participants in the Parliamentary Fellowship Program intend to pursue careers in the diplomatic service, government and administrative authorities of their home countries. The study seminars organized by Germany's six political foundations form the core element of the program. The Scholarship Program coordinates the seminars offered by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, which are conducted by four different state-level foundations. A broad spectrum of issues was addressed, including "Integration policy: the example of Hamburg," "NGOs as a corrective to 'passive democracy,'" "Ways to intervene against right-wing extremism," as well as questions relating to German-German identity.

Fellowship Programs Abroad

Moscow office: Since 1994, the fellowship program in Russia has been supporting students and doctoral candidates in the fields of sociology, history and law and places a particular emphasis on funding students outside the metropolises of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

Mexico City office: Since 1997, the Heinrich Böll Foundation has been providing support to Latin American university graduates in Mexico. The goal is to strengthen and professionalize experts and leaders in the region of Central America.

Sarajevo office: Since 2001, the Foundation has funded a fellowship program for students of the humanities and environmental studies at universities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The aim is to nurture and mentor young, democracy-oriented experts and leaders.

Tbilisi office: The Foundation has been providing support since 2003 to young scholars in Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia who specialize in the fields of contemporary history, critical sociology and sustainable development in the Caucasus region. The fellowship program is directed primarily toward post-graduate scholars, but it also includes young staff members from non-governmental organizations and the media.



Melanie Hauenstein studied development policy and international relations, and received support as a Scholarship Program fellow. She gained experience in the fields of rural development and migration through practical training and employment in Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Berlin and New York. She has been working for the United Nations peace mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo since March 2005, where she was involved in the DRC's first free elections in 40 years.

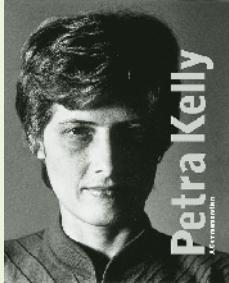


With support from a Heinrich Böll Foundation fellowship, Dr. Sena Yawo Akakpo-Numado completed his doctoral degree in education at the Ruhr University of Bochum with a dissertation on "The education of women and girls in Germany's African colonies from 1884-1914". He returned to Togo in 2006. He is currently working as a lecturer in comparative education studies at the University of Lomé's Institute of Education. He is also an instructor at the Goethe Institute in Lomé and serves as an expert on peace education for WANEP-Togo (West African Network for Peace Building). He works actively to increase education and awareness among young people and to promote peaceful democratization in Togo.

More information is available at
www.boell.de

Contemporary History

The interpretation of historical events is of immense political significance. For example, collective and/or national identities are strongly based on such interpretations of history. In regular events and publications dealing with the culture of remembrance and the politics of memory, the Heinrich Böll Foundation seeks to reflect critically on such interpretations. This includes addressing the subject of National Socialism and the consequences of other totalitarian ideologies.



The illustrated volume highlights the most important periods of Petra Kelly's life (1947–1992), in part with previously unpublished photographs. Excerpts from Kelly's original writings reveal the political motivations behind her activism while also exemplifying the hopes, fears, and struggles of her time. The book also includes six essays on Kelly's life and works as well as observations by her contemporaries.

Petra Kelly. A Commemoration
Publ. by Heinrich Böll Foundation
Berlin 2008, 192 pages
140 Photographs, 20 Euro
(forthcoming)

Berlin: Remembering Petra Kelly on the Occasion of Her 60th Birthday

Petra Kelly (1947–1992) was one of the German Greens' outstanding personalities: she was an icon of the global anti-nuclear and peace movements and a pioneer in the fight to protect the environment and human rights. She would have turned 60 in November 2007. For the Heinrich Böll Foundation, this presented an ideal occasion to remember Petra Kelly and her significance for the Greens. The Foundation paid tribute to her with a large-format illustrated volume that highlights the most important periods of her life. On 28–29 November 2007, the Foundation took a look back into the future at the conference "Green Metamorphoses: In Honor of Petra Kelly's 60th Birthday". What would Petra Kelly have to say to us today? Would her approach to politics still be considered valid? Petra Kelly continues to enjoy a strong international reputation as a moral authority in political questions. Yet in Germany she was increasingly marginalized within the Green Party by the end of the 1980s. What was the cause of this process of alienation? What is the relationship between morality and politics today for a political party that has now experienced what it means to assume responsibility for governing? Various panel discussions attempted to find answers to these questions.

Ravensbrück: Forced Prostitution and War in the 20th and Early 21st Centuries

European Summer University

Prison bordellos in concentration camps were a part of the bordello system organized by the SS – a phenomenon rarely examined in the history of the concentration camps. The annual European Summer University of the Ravensbrück Memorial, which counts the Heinrich Böll Foundation as one of its supporters, addressed this topic from 3–7 September 2007 and drew connections between the forced prostitution of female concentration camp prisoners in Europe, Asian forced prostitution under Japanese occupation during the World War II, and present-day conditions.

Discussions focused on international legal and judicial responses to the problem and the associated role of the International Criminal Court in The Hague. The concluding session looked at current areas of conflict, including a presentation by Lotte Leicht of Human Rights Watch on the precarious situation of women in Darfur.

Cape Town: Confronting the Past in South Africa and Germany: An Exchange of Experiences

Discussion

South Africa's interest in confronting its past remains strong. In July 2007, over 100 guests crowded into the Nelson Mandela Gateway Auditorium in Cape Town to hear lectures by Marianne Birthler and Verne Harris. Marianne Birthler, who has served as the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic since 2000, reported on Germany's experiences since 1989 in addressing and documenting the GDR regime and the Security Service's files. She also spoke about her personal experiences during the collapse of the GDR regime. Verne Harris, one of the most renowned and active persons involved in South Africa's confrontation with the past, reported on the situation in South Africa and did not shy away from criticizing the country's approach toward the documentation of its past.

The event was co-organized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation and the South African Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR). The lively discussion provided proof that, for both countries, the issue of confronting the past provides fruitful ground for the exchange of views and experiences and for mutual learning. A follow-up event is planned for 2008.

Art and Culture

Promoting the creation and dissemination of literary and artistic works: this is also a fundamental component of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's civic education activities. Panel discussions and conferences focus primarily on the political dimensions of art and culture, its ability to shake the status quo and its potential for providing insights into contemporary developments.

"Where is Böll?" – Tracing Heinrich Böll's Life and Times on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday

Readings

Heinrich Böll would have turned 90 in 2007. This presented the Heinrich Böll Foundation with a welcome occasion to trace the man's life and times. Based on the motto, "To discover Böll still means to read him," the Foundation organized and financed a series of events that introduced Böll to audiences by way of his writings. In addition, the Foundation was involved in a conference organized by the Centre for Irish-German Studies at the University of Limerick in Ireland, which focused on the biographical, historical and literary observations and analyses contained in Böll's Irish Journal. Further, in this anniversary year, three new volumes of the Kölner Ausgabe – an annotated, 27-volume compendium of Böll's writings – were issued with the support of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. To date, 18 of the 27 volumes have been published. They invite readers to re-encounter Heinrich Böll with the added benefit of detailed commentary.



Commemoration of the person, work and influence of Heinrich Böll (1917-1985) in Cologne.

Lahore, Pakistan: Competition for Young Writers

"Women in Pakistan" was the theme of a poetry and short story competition initiated by the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Lahore office to celebrate the 60th anniversary of Pakistan's independence and the 90th anniversary of the birth of Heinrich Böll. The event was organized under the patronage of Nasira Iqbal, daughter-in-law of the famous Pakistani national philosopher and poet Allama Muhammad Iqbal. The 20 best contributions were selected from a pool of 600 submissions. 20-year-old Mira Sethi won the competition with her poem, "My First Love," which looks at two girlfriends who part in anger because of cultural and class differences. According to Ghazi Salahuddin, one of the country's leading intellectuals and a member of the jury, the poem illustrates a central conflict in Pakistani society: the polarization between Islamic tradition and liberal democratic values. According to Salahuddin, "In the thick of daily events, it is important to develop formulations that precisely describe particular feelings and that can be understood equally by a Pashtun moneychanger, a bureaucrat in Islamabad and a shepherd in Baluchistan."

In a one-week writing workshop in Lahore directed by German writer Norman Ohler and attended by René Böll, talented young writers were given the opportunity to refine and revise their texts and to become familiar with writing techniques and storytelling traditions in Europe and South Asia. These young authors, who demonstrate the clear desire to participate actively and openly in efforts to shape discussions of Pakistan's future, united to form the "Bol Group" during the course of the workshop. This word means "speak" in Urdu, the country's official language, and is associated with a verse by the poet Faiz: "Speak, because your lips are free."

The prize-winning stories and poems were published in book form by Oxford University Press on the occasion of International Women's Day on 8 March 2008.



Writing workshop in Lahore, Pakistan

www.hbfasia.org – website of the Foundation's Pakistan/Afghanistan Regional Office

2007 Peace Film Award: "Goodbye Bafana" by Bille August

Bille August's drama "Goodbye Bafana" won the 22nd Peace Film Award at the Berlinale international film festival in February 2007. The film depicts the transformation of a racist prison warden who guards a prominent prisoner – Nelson Mandela – for 20 years.

In announcing the award, the jury stated: "Deeply affected by the ideas and humanity of Mandela and the brutal violence that the prisoners are subjected to on a daily basis, James Gregory undergoes a change of mind and heart that results in existential challenges for him and his family. This film is based on a true story and shows us that, even under the most stagnant system and incredible pressure, civic courage can grow, thereby turning a perpetrator into an independently thinking and acting individual: an inspiration."

The Peace Film Award is endowed with Euro 5,000.00 and a sculpture by artist Otmar Alt. The Heinrich Böll Foundation contributes the prize money.

Rakesh Sharma, documentary filer, and Bianca Jagger, human rights activist, at the panel discussion on filmmakers in troubled areas.



Berlinale Talent Campus: In the Eye of the Beholder

Panel Discussion

For several years now, the Heinrich Böll Foundation has made it possible for young filmmakers to participate in the Talent Campus of the Berlinale international film festival. In the future, the Foundation plans to strengthen its efforts to facilitate greater cooperation between filmmakers and non-governmental organizations. As a first step in this direction, the panel discussion, "In the Eye of the Storm – Filmmakers in Troubled Areas," brought activist filmmakers from India, Israel, and Congo together with human rights activist Bianca Jagger, among others. The event was held on 13 February 2007 in Berlin and focused on the necessary but sometimes difficult cooperation between filmmakers, non-governmental organizations, and aid organizations. In the view of Thomas Gebauer, executive director of medico international, NGOs are caught in a dilemma between activism and self-marketing in the competition for media coverage, public grants, and private donations. In contrast, Rakesh Sharma from Bombay illustrated that NGOs and filmmakers can easily cooperate in the distribution of films. Despite being banned in India, his mammoth documentary film on Hindu nationalism, "Final Solution" (2003), was secretly copied and distributed with the help of NGOs and their networks. "Pirate and circulate" – this is an approach that could certainly serve as a model.

Berlin: "Stories from Burma/Myanmar"

Short Films



Short films from Burma/Myanmar were screened at the Babylon Mitte Cinema in Berlin

While there is a relatively lively feature film industry in Burma, documentaries are rarely produced. The Yangon Film School (YFS) in Burma, which is directed by the Anglo-Burmese filmmaker Lindsey Merrison and supported by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, promotes this neglected genre. In recent years, YFS has been conducting workshops lasting several weeks that teach documentary filmmaking skills to participants, who receive help in implementing their ideas from experienced film instructors.

In 2007, the Foundation organized a short film competition in cooperation with the Yangon Film School. Young filmmakers were assigned the task of capturing everyday life in their country. "Heinrich Böll Documentary Awards" were presented to four of these films, which were screened at the Babylon Mitte cinema in Berlin in December 2007. These films depicted the efforts of a young boxer; the Ramayana theater troupe that is threatened with extinction; the life of a blind guitarist; and the robe-weaving competition that takes place annually during the Tazaung Daing festival.

Following the film screenings, Lindsey Merrison of the YFS reported on the extremely difficult conditions in Yangon under which these films had been created and produced. The award winners were also invited to attend the Berlinale Talent Campus in 2008.

Tel Aviv: "Israel is of Europe, but not in Europe" (Dan Diner)

Israeli-German Literature Days

Mutual skepticism characterizes the relationship between Europe and Israel. This was once again evident on both sides during and after the second Lebanon war in the summer of 2006, when mutual lack of understanding and disappointment gained the upper hand and dominated the images presented in the media.

The Israeli-German Literature Days, held from 2-7 June 2007 in Tel Aviv, were dedicated to the exploration of this uneasy relationship and sought to dig underneath the attitudes and sensitivities on both sides. One of the key questions that the event focused on was: What kinds of images do young authors create of their world? In addition, Israeli and European authors read from their works and discussed the possibilities for building mutual understanding, promoting rapprochement, and exercising mutual criticism.



Israeli-German Literature Days in Tel Aviv

Heinrich Böll House in Langenbroich

Throughout the world, artists take a stand on political and social issues without regard to prevailing opinions, and despite repression and persecution. With their dedication to free thought, they make a valuable contribution to the development and preservation of democracy and human rights. Through the Fellowship Program of the Heinrich Böll House in Langenbroich, the Heinrich Böll Foundation supports the dedication of these artists, in the spirit of the Foundation's namesake.

Fellows in the Year 2007

Maxwell Sibanda, writer, journalist and photographer from Zimbabwe (born in 1968). Sibanda served as the arts and entertainment editor at the *Daily News* in Harare until September 2003 when, upon orders from President Mugabe, armed policemen stormed the editorial offices and shut down Zimbabwe's only independent daily newspaper. Sibanda, who also worked for Reporters Without Borders, was forced to leave Zimbabwe. Since then, he has been living in Europe.

Bashana Abeywardene, writer and journalist from Sri Lanka (born in 1972). Bashana is one of the founding members of the magazine *Hiru*, which has been in publication since 1993. In the mid-1990s, the "Hiru Action Group" was formed with the aim of promoting peace with the Tamils and freedom of the press. The April 2005 murder of one of Bashana's close colleagues, the Tamil journalist Sivaram Dharmeratnam, made it abruptly clear that free expression in Sri Lanka carries with it the danger of death. Bashana Abeywardene also received death threats and had to flee the country.

Sharnush Parsipur, writer from Iran (born in 1946). In 1974, she resigned from her position as editor for Iran's state-run television out of protest against the execution of two artists. Shortly thereafter, she was imprisoned for one year for her public criticism of the Shah regime. Under Islamic rule, Parsipur was again arrested for publishing a collection of stories entitled *Zanan bedun-e mardan* ("Women without Men") and remained in prison for nearly five years, although no grounds were stated for her detention. In prison, she wrote her 1983 novel *Tuba – and the Meaning of the Night*. In 1994, she decided to emigrate to the United States, where she continues to reside today.

Daniel Bănulescu, writer from Romania (born in 1960). After completing university studies in the field of engineering, he worked as a proofreader, reporter and night watchman, among other jobs. His first collection of poetry, *Ziua în care am fost publicat* ("The Day When I Was Published") appeared in 1987 as a special insert in the magazine *Convingeri Comuniste*. He cemented his reputation as the enfant terrible of contemporary Romanian literature with the 1994 publication of his first novel, *Te pup în fund, conducător iubit!* ("Beloved Leader, I Kiss Your Ass," Edition per procura 2005), for which he received an award from the Romanian Writers' Association.

Apti Bisultanov, writer from Chechnya (born in 1959). His first volume of poetry, *Noch – ze – tschö* ("plow – fire – house") was published in 1986. Subsequent volumes of poetry, *Zcha Illi* ("The Song") and *Tkesan Indare* ("Shadow of a Lightning Flash") appeared in 1988 and 1991, respectively, with the latter volume containing a series of poems dedicated to the victims of deportation under the Stalin regime. Bisultanov was awarded the Chechen People's Prize for Literature in 1992. He supported the independence movement from the outset, and became Minister for Social Affairs in Chechnya in 1999. Bisultanov has been living in Berlin since 2002 and received an award from the Poets of All Nations foundation in 2003.

Viatcheslav Kuritsyn, writer from Russia (born in 1965). In Moscow, he is considered to be one of the most striking figures of the literary world, a "brilliant savage" and a pioneer of contemporary Russian literature. His book *Kuritsyn Weekly*, a compendium of his works as literary critic and chronicle of Russia's Sturm und Drang years, appeared in the fall of 2005, for which he received the prestigious Andrei Belyi Prize the same year. He currently lives in St. Petersburg as an independent author.

Jakub Sarwas, composer, conductor and musician from Poland (born in 1977). He is the founder of the Sarwas Project and the Sarwas Ensemble, for which he serves as a composer, conductor and musical director. He composes chamber music, symphonic, electronic and electroacoustic music, as well as music for theater and film.



(l–r) Bashana Abeywardene, Maxwell Sibanda and Apti Bisultanov



Sharnush Parsipur

Applications should be sent to:
Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, Frau Sigrun Reckhaus
Antwerpener Str. 19, 50672 Köln
T 0221-283 48 50 F 0221-510 25 89
E reckhaus@boell.de



Viatcheslav Kuritsyn

News from the Foundation



Executive Board and CEO at the cornerstone laid for the new headquarter.

Cornerstone Laid for New Foundation Headquarters

In July 2007, the basement slab of the new Foundation headquarters was installed, which provided the perfect occasion for a small celebration on 9 July to commemorate the laying of the cornerstone. Ralf Fücks and Barbara Unmüßig, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's executive board, together with the Swiss architect Piet Eckert, placed their wishes for the building's future into foundation. The new headquarters was designed to radiate global openness, transparency, and environmental compatibility – key values that also form the cornerstone of the Foundation's work. Not least, the building will provide Foundation staff with better working conditions.

Official Opening of the Gunda Werner Institute



Henning von Bargen, Gitti Hentschel and Ulrike Allroggen at the Opening of the GWI

"Only those who change stay true to themselves". Consistent with this quote by Wolf Biermann, the Feminist Institute and the Joint Taskforce for Gender Democracy – which were formerly the Heinrich Böll Foundation's two separate departments for feminism and gender democracy – merged in 2007 to form a joint institute: the Gunda Werner Institute for Feminism and Gender Democracy (GWI). With this step forward, feminism, women's and men's politics are united under a common umbrella, which clearly marks the beginning of a new stage in the Foundation's gender policy! The Institute celebrated its official opening on 15 June. The GWI is carrying forward with the Feminist Institute's gender-oriented peace and security policy. In 2007, its work focused on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 within European security policy (for more information, see the section on Foreign and Security Policy).

www.gwi-boell.de

The Heinrich Böll Foundation Celebrates its 20th Anniversary

On 18 November 1987, about 400 people from green-alternative and Christian circles gathered at a meeting hall in Cologne's Flora Terraces to establish a non-profit foundation. René Böll – son of the Nobel laureate and soon-to-be executive board member of the new foundation – was the first speaker that evening, and he formulated the foundation's goals in this way: the foundation would carry forward the political and social efforts and impact of his father, create a free space for people with dissident political views, support projects in the Third World, and develop its "own Utopias". Meanwhile, 20 years have passed. Since then, the Foundation has grown immensely and has become a factor to be reckoned with in Germany's public, political, and cultural life. In November 2007, the Heinrich Böll Foundation commemorated its 20th anniversary with an intimate event at its fall membership meeting.

The current Heinrich Böll Foundation was established in 1997 as the successor to the Regenbogen (Rainbow) association of foundations, which was the umbrella organization for the three separate Green foundations at that time: the Buntstift (Göttingen), the Frauen-Anstiftung (Hamburg), and the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung (Cologne).



Tony Judt, born in 1948, is a British historian, essayist and university professor. He studied history at King's College in Cambridge, England. He is currently the director of the Remarque Institute at New York University.

2007 Hannah Arendt Prize Awarded to Tony Judt

The Hannah Arendt Prize for political thought was awarded to British historian Tony Judt, who lives and teaches in New York. The prize is endowed with Euro 7,500 and is funded by the Senator for Education and Science of the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen and the Heinrich Böll Foundation. In announcing the award, the selection committee paid tribute to Tony Judt as a personality who is active on a diverse array of fronts in the public debate on Europe and the West: as a historian who understands that historical events cannot be understood without examining their complex contexts; as a political thinker who inserts his views of contemporary events into heated public debates; and finally, as a political essayist who is a combative witness to his times. The selection committee also expressed its appreciation for his commitment to a better understanding of Europe in the United States – an understanding that is characterized not by irreconcilable differences but rather by a constructive, critical discourse over a common present and future.

Addresses

Date: August 2008

Heinrich Böll Foundation

Schumannstraße 8
10117 Berlin, Germany
T +49-30-28 534 0 **F** +49-30-28 534 109
E info@boell.de **W** www.boell.de

Archiv Grünes Gedächtnis Archives

Eldenaer Straße 35
10247 Berlin, Germany
T +49-30-28 534 260 **F** +49-30-28 534 52 60
E archiv@boell.de

Offices Abroad

Africa

East Africa/Horn of Africa Regional Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
Forest Road, P.O. Box 10799 – 00100 GPO
Nairobi, Kenya
T +254-20-375 03 29/374 42 27 **F** +254-20-374 91 32
E nairobi@hbfha.com **W** www.hbfha.com

Ethiopia Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
PO Box Number 3174
Off Bole Medhanealem, House no 2264
Code 1250, Addis Ababa
T +251-11-663 11 00 **F** +251-11-618 54 88
E info@hbf.addis.org.et

Nigeria Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
Diya Oladipo Street 16A, Second Avenue Extension
Ikoyi, Lagos
T +234 (0)8 02 501 22 53 **F** +234 (0)1-761 23 53
E info@boellnigeria.org **W** www.boellnigeria.org

Southern Africa Regional Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
The Avalon Building I
123 Hope Street, Gardens, 8001
Cape Town, South Africa
T +27-21-461 62 66
E info@boell.org.za **W** www.boell.org.za

Asia

Pakistan/Afghanistan Regional Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
House 76-B, Nisar Road
Lahore Cantt-54800, Pakistan
T +92-42-666 63 22 **F** +92-42-666 48 99
E lahoreoffice@hbfasia.org **W** www.hbfasia.org

Southeast Asia Regional Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
P.O. Box 119, Chiang Mai University Post Office
91/9 Mu 14, Ban Mai Lang Mor Soi 1, Suthep Road
Chiang Mai 50200, Thailand
T +66-53-81 04 30-2 **F** +66-53-81 01 24
E sea@hbfasia.org **W** www.hbfasia.org

Cambodia Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
P.O. Box 1436
House #34, Street 222, Sangkat Chaktomuk
Khan Daun Penh, Phnom Penh
T +855 23 21 05 35 **F** +855 23 21 64 82
E phnompenh@hbfasia.org

India Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
C – 20, 1st Floor, Qutub Institutional Area
New Delhi – 110016
T +91-11-2685 44 05 **F** +91-11-26 96 28 40
E india@hbfasia.org **W** www.boell-india.org

Afghanistan Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
Qala-e-Fathullah, Street 1, House Nr. 25, Kabul
T +93-70-29 59 72 **E** officekabul@hbfasia.org

China Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
8, Xinzong Xijie, Gongti Beilu
Asia Hotel, Office Building No. 309, 100027 Beijing
T +86-10-66 15 46 15-0 **F** +86-10-66 15 46 15-102
E info@boell-china.org **W** www.boell-china.org

Europe

European Union Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
Rue d’Arlon 15, B-1050 Bruxelles, Belgium
T +32-2-743 41 00 **F** +32-2-743 41 09
E brussels@boell.be **W** www.boell.be

Central Europe Regional Office

Fundacja Heinricha Bölla
ul. Zurawia 45 (third floor), 00-680 Warsaw, Poland
T +48-22-594 23-33 **F** +48-22-594 23-37
E hbs@boell.pl **W** www.boell.pl

Czech Republic Office

Zastoupení Heinrich Böll Foundation v Ceske republice
Spálená 23 (zadní trakt, vchod Spálená 21)
CZ – 110 00 Prague 1
T +420-251 81 41 75 **F** +420-251 81 41 74
E info@boell.cz

Turkey Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
 Inönü Cad. Haci Hanım Sok. No. 10/12
 34439 Gümüşsuyu – İstanbul
T +90-212-249 15 54 **F** +90-212-245 04 30
E info@boell-tr.org **W** www.boell-tr.org

Russia Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
 Grusinskij per. 3-231
 RU 123056 Moscow
T +7-495-254 14 53 **F** +7-495-935 80 14
E info@boell.ru **W** www.boell.ru

Southern Caucasus Regional Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
 Tbilisi 0179, Radiani Str. 5, Georgia
T +995-32-22 77 05 **F** +995-32-91 28 97
E info@boell.ge **W** www.boell.ge

Bosnia and Herzegovina Office

Fondacija Heinrich Böll
 Cekalusa 42, 71000 Sarajevo
T +387-332 60-450 **F** +387-332 60-460
E h.boell@bih.net.ba

Croatia Office

Fondacija Heinrich Böll
 Berislaviceva 20, 1000 Zagreb
T +385-1-481 89 78 **F** +385-1-481 89 77
E hbs-hr@zamir.net

Southeast Europe Regional Office

Fondacija Heinrich Böll
 Dobracina 43, 11 000 Belgrad, Serbia
T +381-11-303 38 33 **F** +381-11-328 51 80
E hbs-bgd@hbs.org.yu

Ukraine Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
 wul. Welyka Wasylkiwska 36, Büro 1
 01004 Kiew, Ukraine
T +380 442 87 45 25 **F** +380 442 46 64 14
E savin@boell.pl

Latin America**Brazil Office**

Fundação Heinrich Böll
 Rua da Glória 190, ap. 701
 20241 180 Rio de Janeiro – Glória
T +55-21-32 21 99 00 **F** +55-21-32 21 99 22
E boell@boell.org.br **W** www.boell-latinoamerica.org

Cono Sur Regional Office

Fundación Heinrich Böll
 Avenida Francisco Bilbao 882
 Providencia
 752-0063 Santiago de Chile, Chile
T +56-2-584 01 72-101 **F** +56-2-341 64 41
E info@boell.cl

Central America, Mexico

and the Caribbean Regional Office (Mexico)
 Fundación Heinrich Böll
 Calle José Alvarado 12, Colonia Roma Norte
 CP 06700, México, D.F., Mexico
T +52-55-52 64 15 14 **F** +52-55-52 64 28 94
E ingrid.spiller@boell-latinoamerica.org.mx
W www.boell-latinoamerica.org

Central America , Mexico

and the Caribbean Regional Office (El Salvador)
 Fundación Heinrich Böll
 Residencial Zanzibar, Pasaje A-Oriente No. 24
 San Salvador
T +503-22 74 68 12 **F** +503-22 74 69 32
E boell.programas@telesal.net
W www.boell-latinoamerica.org

Near and Middle East**Israel Office**

Heinrich Böll Foundation
 Nahalat Binyamin 24, Tel Aviv 65162
T +972-3-516 77 34/35 **F** +972-3-516 76 89
E hbstl@boell.org **W** www.boell.org.il

Middle East Regional Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
 P.O. Box 175510
 266, Rue Gouraud
 Gemmayzeh, Beirut, Libanon
T +961-1-56 29 26 **F** +961-1-56 29 78
E boell@terra.net.lb **W** www.boell-meo.org

Arab Middle East Regional Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
 P.O. Box 2018
 Tal az-Zaatar St. 6,
 Ramallah, Palestine
T +972-2-296 11 21 **F** +972-2-296 11 22
E info@boell-ameo.org **W** www.boell-ameo.org

North America**North America Regional Office**

Heinrich Böll Foundation
 Chelsea Gardens, 1638 R Street, NW, Suite 120
 Washington, DC, 20009, USA
T +1-202-462 75 12 **F** +1-202-462 52 30
E info@boell.org **W** www.boell.org

The Heinrich Böll Foundation Mission Statement

Who We Are, What We Do The Heinrich Böll Foundation is part of the Green political movement that has developed worldwide as a response to the traditional politics of socialism, liberalism, and conservatism. Our main tenets are ecology and sustainability, democracy and human rights, self-determination and justice. We place particular emphasis on gender democracy, meaning social emancipation and equal rights for women and men. We are also committed to equal rights for cultural and ethnic minorities and to the societal and political participation of immigrants. Finally, we promote non-violence and proactive peace policies.

To achieve our goals, we seek strategic partnerships with others who share our values. We are an independent organisation, that is, we determine our own priorities and policies.

We are based in the Federal Republic of Germany, yet we are an international actor in both ideal and practical terms.

Our namesake, the writer and Nobel Prize laureate Heinrich Böll, personifies the values we stand for: defence of freedom, civic courage, tolerance, open debate, and the valuation of art and culture as independent spheres of thought and action.

We Are a Green Think Tank

- We promote democratic reforms and social innovation.
- We work on ecological policies and sustainable development on a global level.
- We provide space for the presentation of and debate on art and culture.
- We transfer knowledge and skills from experts to political actors.
- We provide a forum for open debate and promote dialogue between politics, business, academia, and society.
- We support talented students active on socio-political issues both in Germany and abroad.
- We document the history of the Green movement in order to promote research and provide political inspiration.

We Are an International Policy Network

- We are part of the global Green network and promote the development of the Green political movement on all continents.
- We focus especially on the broadening and deepening of the European Green movement.

- We work actively for the development of a political European public.
- We support the participation of civil society in politics and, within the framework of multilateral organisations, take part in conferences and negotiations.

We Are Active on Ecology, Democracy, and Human Rights Worldwide

- We consider ecology and democracy to be inseparable. We therefore support individuals and projects that are committed to ecology, human rights, democracy, and self-determination.
- We support respect for the rule of law and democratic participation in all parts of the world.
- We promote the abolition of conditions of dominance, dependency, and violence between the sexes.
- We consider ethnic and cultural diversity to be an essential part of democratic culture.
- We encourage civic and civil-society activism.
- We train activists so that they can successfully self-organise and participate in political processes.

Our culture Commitment, expert and social competence, creativity and flexibility are features of our employees, both in Germany and abroad. They are highly qualified, team-oriented and, with their high level of motivation, they constitute the most important asset of the Foundation.

Equality of opportunity and respectful dealings between women and men of different ages, religions, ethnic origins and sexual orientations are constitutive for the foundation. Intercultural competence and a productive engagement with diversity are part of our corporate culture.

Mutual respect and trusting co-operation among ourselves and with our partners are the bases of our business relationships.

We constantly evaluate and improve our work. We undertake and take seriously both internal and external evaluations. We handle the funds at our disposal economically and efficiently and assure transparent operations.

We work in close co-operation with our co-foundations in all of Germany's 16 states.

We are a reliable partner for volunteer work and for co-operation with third parties.

As a political foundation, we act independently; this also applies in respect to our relationship with the German Green Party. We are autonomous in selecting our executive officers and staffing our committees.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation, affiliated with the Green Party and headquartered in the heart of Berlin, is a legally independent political foundation working in the spirit of intellectual openness. The Foundation's primary objective is to support political education both within Germany and abroad, thus promoting democratic involvement, sociopolitical activism, and cross-cultural understanding. The Foundation also provides support for art and culture, science and research, and developmental cooperation. Its activities are guided by the fundamental political values of ecology, democracy, solidarity, and non-violence. Heinrich Böll's call on citizens to meddle in politics is the example upon which the work of the Foundation is modeled. The Heinrich Böll Foundation strives to stimulate sociopolitical reform by acting as a forum for debate, both on fundamental issues and those of current interest. The Foundation places particular importance on attaining gender democracy – signifying a relationship between the sexes characterized by freedom from dependence and dominance. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's educational activities have a political basis, an ethical outlook, and strive to promote various forms of cultural expression. The Foundation supports art and culture as part of its political education work and as a crucial element of each society's self-image. By way of its international collaboration with a large number of project partners – currently numbering about 100 projects in almost 60 countries – the Foundation aims to strengthen ecological and civil activism on a global level, to intensify the exchange of ideas and experiences, and to keep our sensibilities alert for change. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's collaboration on sociopolitical education programs with its project partners abroad is on a long-term basis. Addi-

tional important instruments of international cooperation include visitor programs, which enhance the exchange of experiences and of political networking, as well as basic and advanced training programs for committed activists. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's Study Program considers itself a workshop for the future; its activities include providing support to especially talented students and academicians, promoting theoretical work of sociopolitical relevance, and working to overcome the compartmentalisation of science into exclusive subjects. The Heinrich Böll Foundation has about 185 full-time employees as well as approximately 370 supporting members who provide both financial and non-material assistance. Ralf Fücks and Barbara Unmüßig comprise the current Executive Board. Dr. Birgit Laubach is the CEO of the Foundation. The members assembly, comprised of 49 persons, is the Foundation's foremost decision-making organ; its responsibilities include electing the Executive Board. Expert advisory boards (7–10 people each) are staffed by independent experts who consult with the Foundation and formulate suggestions regarding conceptual issues raised in the educational programs. The Foundation's by-laws provide for a quota of women and immigrants on all the Foundation's bodies and among its full-time staff. The Foundation currently maintains foreign and project offices in the USA and the Arab Middle East, in Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brazil, Cambodia, Chile, China, Croatia, the Czech Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Georgia, India, Israel, Kenya, Lebanon, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Russia, Ukraine, South Africa, Serbia, Thailand, Turkey, and an EU office in Brussels. In 2007, the Foundation had €40 million public funds at its disposal.